

Syria

PERMANENT MISSION OF THE SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC TO THE UNITED NATIONS

STATEMENT BY

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Mr. President,

Allow me first of all to congratulate you on your election as President for this session of the United Nations General Assembly. I am confident that you will carry out your task in the best possible manner in view of your experience, knowledge and wide familiarity. We earnestly wish you success. It also pleases me to extend thanks to Mr. Abdul Aziz Bouteflika, the Foreign Minister of Algiers for the good efforts he exerted during his presidency of the 29th session. His efforts had great effect on the significant results achieved by that session. To him and to the sisterly Algiers I convey my best greetings.

Mr. President,

Significant events occurred since the last session in the domains of the struggle of peoples for liberation and independence. The Vietnamese people have achieved victory and were able to realise their will after a fierce war for which they sacrificed millions of lives.. The Cambodian people won victory also and realised their wishes of selecting the system and path they want. The struggle of the peoples of Mozambique, Cape Verde Islands, Sao Tome and Principe was crowned with victory, and I welcome the admission of these countries as active members in the international community and their anticipated role in supporting the forces of freedom and progress. I denounce the policy aiming at preventing the admission of the two parts of Vietnam to the United Nations. We consider such admission an enrichment of the heroic human experience.

Despite these victories, there are peoples still suffering from the yoke of colonialism and are being subjected to the most abominable forms of racial oppression. I find it my duty from this

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rostrum to hail the just struggle waged by the peoples of Angola , Namibia, Rhodesia and South Africa, as well as the various liberation movements in the world for their freedom and for eradicating the vestiges of the racial colonialist regimes that are still exploiting their lands and resources. I also declare my full support for the just struggle of the Korean people for realising its national unity.

In Cyprus, that neighbourly island which was the scene of bloody events, we demand the implementation of the relevant U.N. resolutions and the safeguarding of its unity and territorial integrity. We view with great concern the imperialist attempts and maneuvers aimed at transforming the island into a NATO base.

Since I am still talking about the right of peoples to self determination, I find it imperative for me to talk about the Sahara : which is part of the Arab soil, whose fate concerns the whole Arab nation, and which is still being occupied by the Spanish troops. I appeal to the friendly Spanish Government to expedite its evacuation of this Arab territory. I declare my support for the efforts exerted by the Moroccan Government for solving the dispute involving the future of the Sahara in accordance with the U.N. Charter and the decisions of the Arab Conference of Rabat.

Mr. President,

The policy of international detente achieved a significant positive step when it succeeded in convening the European Security and Cooperation Conference at Helsinki, which set the principles to be adopted by the participating members for securing the realisation of a greater chance for peace in Europe. While supporting and welcoming this significant step, may we ask what peace may be achieved when a neighbouring region, namely the Middle East, is a flaring hotbed of tension. May I remind of the strategic location of this region and its deep bearing on European Security.

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The October war of liberation of 1973 was a strong proof of such link.

Any talk about international detente and European security would remain short unless the causes of tension are eliminated. Such elimination can be achieved only through the evacuation by the Zionist forces of all the occupied territories and securing the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine, including the right to return and self determination. I shall revert to this subject later.

Mr. President,

The suffocating economic crisis suffered by the capitalist world economy and the results emanating from it in the field of international trade and world monetary system have been reflected on the Third World countries, as if these countries have always been destined to pay for the mistakes of others.

It is high time for the international organization to deal with these problems seriously. The peace aspired for in the U.N. Charter cannot be secured as long as there are in this world rich countries and poor countries, dominating countries and exploited countries, unless the gap between the rich and the poor countries is narrowed, and unless the exploited countries are allowed to recover their full rights and sovereignty on their wealth and resources.

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For the sake of propagating the international justice we all seek it is of utmost necessity to set a new world economic order that would permit improving the machinery of the prevailing trade exchanges and would allow the developing countries to sell their resources of raw materials at rewarding and fixed prices compatible with the prices acquired by the advanced countries after re-exporting such materials in the form of manufactured commodities would help in the development plans.

Another means that would help these countries economically and socially is for the advanced countries to provide the developing countries with financial and technological assistance, while leaving them free to select the course they want to pursue for their development.

In this connection, we support the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly in its Sixth and Seventh Extraordinary Sessions, and those adopted by the Non-Aligned Ministerial Conference in Lima. We point out in particular to the work program adopted by the Sixth Session which was reaffirmed by the Seventh Session, and to the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of Nations, and we demand to expedite implementing their provisions.

I find it imperative to refer to the fact that any international economic conference whose agenda is limited to discussing the energy crisis, and does not extend to discussing all raw materials as provided for by the resolutions of the Conference of Developing Nations for Raw materials held in Dakar in February 1975, shall be doomed to fail as was the fate of the attempt made during last Spring.

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Another subject that requires quick solution is to reform the current international monetary order that was shaken as a result of the inflation and recession in the industrialised countries during the recent years, which led to major fluctuations in the prices of the main currencies and to floating most of them. This has been detrimentally reflected on world trade, particularly on the economics of developing countries, whereby this order has become incapable of meeting the requirements of the international payments in a stable and equitable manner.

The major changes that took place in the balances of forces in the world during the last ten years and the liberation of many developing nations and their emergence in the international community make it necessary to reconsider this order, so that the developing countries represent the standing they deserve within the international monetary and economic establishments.

Any reform to the international monetary order must take into consideration the securing of stability of the main currencies in the international payments in order to secure stable sources of such currencies for the developing countries for their exports of raw materials.

Mr. President,

The explosive effects of the tense situation in the Middle East region might not be confined to the region. The situation, rather, threatens world security at large, for the following reasons:

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- 1) The strategic situation of the Middle East region. It is the crossroads for three continents and is situated on two oceans and three seas, and through it pass the most vital international communications routes.
- 2) The interconnection and intertwining of the international interests in this region. All of us remember how the October war placed the super powers on the brink of a devastating nuclear war.
- 3) The economic significance of this region due to the enormous oil quantities of oil stored therein. All of us remember the great crisis suffered by the world economy due to the October war.

Since one of the main purposes of the Charter is to confront any thing that jeopardises world peace and security, the tense situation in the Middle East ranks foremost among the problems to be solved. It is high time for the international community to put an end to Israel's acts that are based on domination, expansion and challenge of the U.N. Charter and flouting U.N. resolutions.

When Belfour made his declaration in 1917 promising the Jews a national homeland, the Jews residing in Palestine then did not own more than 2.5% of the total area of Palestine. The partition resolutions issued in November 1947 gave them 56% of that area. They are at present dominating the whole of the Palestinian soil.

The Jews residing in Palestine in 1917 did not exceed 56 thousand persons, i.e. 3% of the total Arab population. Due to the immigration organized and encouraged by world Zionism and the mandatory

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government, the number soared to 31% in 1947. The population of Israel today is around 2.5 million , while immigration is still continuing to Israel.

In view of the increase in population and the small area of land, Israel committed the worst and most ominous human crimes against the Arab inhabitants for forcing them to leave their lands and properties. Accordingly, the largest exodus known by history took place whereby a whole people has been forcibly driven from its homeland in order to be replaced by other people.

I am mentioning these facts to prove that they are an extension of the past and highlight Israel's expansionist and aggressive nature which has not changed, but has rather been reinforced. Israel's determination to keep its hold on the Arab territories occupied following the 1967 war is a proof of what I am saying.

Israel's history is a series of challenges and defiance of the U.N. Charter and contempt of its resolutions, starting with resolution No. 181 and the resolutions related to the return of the refugees, compensating them, passing through the resolutions related to Jerusalem and ending with the laws of protecting the holy places and the resolutions that prohibit effecting any changes in the archaeological sites in the occupied territories. Israel has recently taken steps towards changing the features of the Abraham's Mosque in Hebron and has divided it into two parts, getting hold of the larger part, thus proving once more her disdain for the spiritual and human values.

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In fact , I am not here to list the resolutions violated or disdained by Israel, since these are facts you are all aware of, and which our people is witnessing every day.

Another matter that is no less dangerous than the former one is Israel's violation of the Human Rights. Israel is exercising against the Arab inhabitants residing in Palestine the worst type of oppression and racial discrimination. Such practices exceed by far those pursued by Nazism for eliminating its opponents. This policy which is embedded deep in the souls of the Israeli rulers is even being applied against the oriental Jews residing in Israel.

Mr. President,

Throughout the history of the United Nations Organisation, no state has flouted the U.N. Charter and the U.N. resolutions, such as done by Israel. Until when could this silence be maintained? Doesn't this silence towards Israel constitute a dangerous precedent that would encourage other states to follow suit? What would be the situation in such case and would be the fate of the United Nations and world peace ?.

The case of Israel is different from that of the other members of this Organisation. Israel's admission to the U.N. based on resolution 273 of 11 May 1949 was linked to two conditions :

- 1) To undertake to honour the obligations of the U.N. Charter from the day it becomes a member of the U.N.
- 2) To implement resolution No. 181 dated 29 November 1947 and resolution No. 194 dated 11 December 1948 related to the necessity of allowing the Palestinian refugees to return to their homes.

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The then Israeli Minister of Foreign Affairs solemnly pledged to accept these two conditions. But needless to say, Israel has not fulfilled any of them. The undertaking to honour the obligations of the Charter was a false undertaking. The resolution related to the return of the refugees has remained mere ink on paper, though the U.N. has been reaffirming it every year since 1950. The same thing applies to resolution No. 181. Israel occupied areas equalling four times the area granted to it under the said resolution.

Israel which was admitted to the U.N. by resolution No. 173 and under the two mentioned conditions does not deserve being a member of the international community. She is constantly violating the U.N. Charter and resolutions. Hence, the conditional resolution endorsing Israel's membership must, after an experience of over a quarter of a century, must be reconsidered in the light of Israel's non-compliance with the obligations of the said resolution.

Mr. President,

In 1967, Israel perpetrated a new aggression and occupied territories belonging to three states, including the Golan Heights. She is refusing to withdraw from the Heights under the pretext of "secure boundaries". It is very strange to talk about "secure boundaries" in the age of missiles and sophisticated weaponry. Did those "secure boundaries" prevent the Egyptian and Syrian armies from penetrating inside the occupied Arab territories during the October war? Which of the two sides needs secure boundaries? Is it Israel whose history abounds with aggression, or the Arabs who have always been the victim of aggression? What would become of the political map of the world and what would be the fate of

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world peace if each state advanced the pretext of secure boundaries to commit an aggression against its neighbours and acquire territorial gains?

The slogan of secure boundaries raised by Israel is in reality a slogan behind which she conceals her expansionist intentions in order to keep hold of the occupied Arab territories.

We tried many times through the United Nations to compel Israel to withdraw from these territories. We exerted strenuous efforts towards the implementation of the U.N. resolutions, especially those related to Jerusalem and the securing of the national rights of the people of Palestine. The majority of the world opinion stood to our side supporting our just struggle. However, all those efforts went in vain. Israel persisted in her intransigence and determination and kept pursuing her aggressive and expansionist policy, building colonies and chasing the Palestinians for exterminating them.

In the face of all this, we had only one recourse. That was the October war which we fought with willingness, honour and courage. We were determined not to stop until we realize the objective of liberating our territories and securing the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine. Certain factors emerged during the war which led to the issuance of resolution No.338. Our country accepted it in a cable I sent to the Secretary General of the U.N. in which I stated that our understanding of the resolution is based on the following two principles :

- 1) Complete withdrawal from all the Arab territories occupied since June 1967.
- 2) Securing the national rights of the Palestinian people.

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Many thought that the Israelis learnt from the lessons of the October war. However, the facts disproved such belief. The Israelis have once more begun talking in the same manner and using the same lexicon used prior to the October war. They are reaffirming their unwillingness to withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories, notably the Golan Heights, which the Israeli statements and declarations are considering a "part of Israel". The Israelis are adamant in refusing to recognise the Palestinian people, thus ignoring not only its existence, but also the international will that recognised such existence, manifested in resolution No. 3236 of the 29th Session of the U.N. General Assembly.

I find it important to point out that the Arabs who refused the consequences of the 1967 war refuse today to lose what they achieved in 1973. They are determined more than ever to safeguard and defend their rights depending on your support and backing. Thus, you would not be safeguarding the Arab rights only, but also the Charter, its principles and the principles of freedom and dignity.

Mr. President,

We are not war mongers. We are rather working for peace. The peace we understand is that which secures a comprehensive solution for our cause on the basis of the U.N. resolutions. Our view proceeds from the fact that any attempt that does not deal with the core of the problem, that is the people of Palestine and their expulsion from their homeland, shall be doomed to fail, and would, in no case, be better than a temporary truce.

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It was with this understanding that we signed the disengagement agreement on the Golan. We made a point of mentioning explicitly in the agreement that the agreement is only a step towards implementing resolution No. 338. We have never believed in the soundness of the partial steps or step by step policy, as designated by its initiators, because such policy ignores the unity of the cause and represents the situation as a border dispute between Israel and Egypt, or between Israel and Syria, or between Israel and Jordan, while it is between the Arabs as a whole and Israel for an indivisible cause, namely the restoration of the national rights of the people of Palestine and the recovery of all the occupied Arab territories.

It is for this reason that these steps are fraught with danger. They are moving us far from peace and not bringing us closer to it. They give the impression that peace in the region is within reach, while actually stalemate and calm are prevailing bearing in their folds the seeds of a new flareup.

The peace we are striving to attain with the help and this Organisation and with the support and backing of all the peoples is that just peace that restores to us all our occupied Arab territories, and to the people of Palestine their national rights. We reject any attempt to impose settlements that impair the rights of our people.

Accordingly, we view the Egyptian-Israeli agreement as moving us farther from the road to peace. Besides, any consideration of this agreement as a step forward implies a misloading attempt or it means that the ingredients of peace in the region are not fully comprehended.

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I find it necessary to declare from this forum that the attempts aimed at placing us before the alternative of either accepting the continuation of the stalemate -- which eventually would lead to war -- or accepting partial and individual agreements concluded at the expense of the rights and interests of our people -- such attempts shall be doomed to fail and will not distract or blind us from seeking the means leading to real, just and durable peace. Irrespective of the circumstances, we shall not fall into the trap of the recently-concluded Sinai agreement. This agreement is merely one of those misleading attempts. It is a step for dragging our people to surrender to the will of the aggressor. This agreement has given the aggressor everything, while it has given the victim of aggression nothing more than a feeling of bitterness and injustice with all the dangers underlying the cumulation of such feelings -- dangers that would imperatively lead to tearing apart all the covenants and agreements and to placing the region on the brink of a new war. The world will then realize that such an agreement was not a step towards peace, but rather a temporary truce that threatens the whole region with explosion.

The search for a just and durable peace in the Middle East must be made outside the deceiving framework that encircles the Sinai agreement and the entailing commitments and undertakings given by the godfathers of the agreement to supply Israel with the most destructive weapons. How can our people believe that this agreement shall bring peace closer, while part of its cost is to supply Israel with missiles which range can reach the capitals and towns of the Arab countries surrounding the center of aggression? How can we be convinced that this agreement is a step towards peace when Israel is receiving for it, through blackmail, billions of U.S. dollars?

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Gentlemen,

What sort of peace can such agreement bring about while it was concluded outside the framework of the United Nations? How can this agreement be a step towards peace when Israel is still occupying our national soil, and when there is a party that is enhancing her offensive forces to become a striking force in the region?

How can we consider this agreement a step towards peace when it has paved the way for a U.S. presence in the area, and when it has rendered the U.S. a main party to the conflict, with all the dangers underlying such presence -- dangers that threaten the future of our people who can rightly recall how the U.S. got involved in Vietnam?

We are against this agreement because it is against the will of our people. The agreement is an attempt to undermine the solidarity of our people, impair its unity and isolate it as a preliminary for doing away with all the gains achieved by the October war of liberation.

We are against this agreement because it permits the aggressor to persist with his expansionist and aggressive policy and gives him security in Sinai, so that he may throw all his weight and practice his terrorist acts against the other Arab fronts.

We are against this agreement because it ignores the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine to self-determination and establish their national entity on their homeland.

We are against this agreement because it is against the will of peace of our people and the peoples of the world, and because it was concluded outside the framework of the United Nations.

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We are against this agreement because it boosts Israel's arrogance and intransigence in not complying with the U.N. resolutions, and above all because it was concluded against the will of our Arab nation.

We have been recently hearing talks about possible negotiations concerning the occupied Syrian territories. I declare from this rostrum that any talk on this subject within the framework of the partial steps policy is not founded on a practical basis. The reason is that the occupied Syrian territories are part of one cause, namely the cause of Palestine and the occupied Arab territories. We refuse to be dragged into the policy of dividing the cause. We want a just and durable peace. However, such peace can only be realized within the framework of the following two principles:

1. Israel's unconditional withdrawal from all the Arab territories occupied during the June 1967 aggression.
2. Israel's undertaking to carry out the U.N. resolutions relevant to the Palestinian cause, notably resolution No. 3236 and 3237 of 1974.

Mr. President,

Any talk about peace in any other direction is no more than a delusion of world public opinion and a deceit of the international community. While on the subject of the Sinai agreement, I wish to remind of the fate of agreements on Indo-China, particularly the Paris agreements on Vietnam. Peoples cannot accept that the aggressor persists, regardless of the material force he owns, in imposing his will.

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Gentlemen,

Peace depends on your ardent desire to see that resolutions adopted by you are fully implemented. It is your duty to lend us your support and backing for enhancing the prestige of the United Nations in the interest of such peace.

I thank you for your attention.

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